

# The Nation

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1917.

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# The Nation

## Reviews.

### MR. CHESTERTON'S NEW ROMANCE.

"A Short History of England." By G. K. CHESTERTON.  
(Chatto & Windus. 5s. net.)

WE cannot help wishing at times that Mr. Chesterton could be divided in two. One half of him we would like to challenge to mortal combat as an enemy of the human race. The other half we would carry shoulder-high through the streets. For Mr. Chesterton is at once detestable and splendid. He is detestable as a doctrinaire: he is splendid as a sage and a poet who plays with balls of light and can keep seven of them in the air at a time. His game is really a game played with light. We can see to read by it. He writes in flashes, and hidden and fantastic truths suddenly show their faces in the play of his sentences. Unfortunately, his two personalities have become so entangled that his later books sometimes strike one as being not so much a game played with light as a game of hide-and-seek between light and darkness. In the darkness he mutters incantations to the monstrous tyrannies of old time: in the light he is on his knees to liberty. He vacillates between superstition and faith. His is a genius at once enslaved and triumphantly rebel. This fatal duality is seen again and again in his references to the tyrannies of the Middle Ages. Thus he writes: "It need not be repeated that the case for despotism is democratic. As a rule its cruelty to the strong is kindness to the weak." We confess we do not know the "rule" to which Mr. Chesterton refers. The picture of the despot as a good creature who shields the poor from the rich is not to be found among the facts of history. The ordinary despot, in his attitude to the common people suffering from the oppressions of their lords, is best portrayed in the fable—if it be a fable—of Marie Antoinette and her contemptuous flippancy about eating cake.

We fancy, however, Mr. Chesterton's defence of despots is not the result of any real taste for them or acquaintance with their history: it is due simply to his passion for extremes. He likes a man, as the vulgar say, to be either one thing or the other. You must be either a Pope or a revolutionist to please him. He loves the visible rhetoric of things, and the sober suits of comfortable citizens seem dull and neutral in comparison with the red of cardinals on the one side, and of caps of liberty, on the other. This, we think, explains Mr. Chesterton's indifference to, if not dislike of, Parliaments. Parliaments are monuments of compromise, and are guilty of the sin of unpicturesqueness. One would imagine that a historian of England who did not care for Parliaments would be as hopelessly out of his element as a historian of Greece who did not care for the arts. And it is because Mr. Chesterton is indifferent to so much in the English genius and character that he has given us in the present volume, instead of a History of England, a wild and wonderful pageant of argument. "Already," he cries, as he relates how Parliament "certainly encouraged, and almost certainly obliged" King Richard to break his pledge to the people after the Wat Tyler insurrection:—

"Already Parliament is not merely a governing body, but a governing class."

The history of England is to Mr. Chesterton largely the history of the rise of the governing class. He blames John Richard Green for leaving the people out of his history; but Mr. Chesterton himself has left out the people as effectually as any of the historians who went before him. The obsession of "the governing class" has thrust the people into the background. History simply resolves itself with him into a disgraceful epic of a governing class which

despoiled Pope and King with the right hand, and the people with the left. It is a disgraceful epic patched with splendid episodes, but it culminates in an appalling cry of doubt whether, after all, it might not be better for England to perish utterly in the present war while fighting for liberty than to survive to behold the triumph of the "governing class" in a servile State of old-age pensions and Insurance Acts.

This theory of history, as being largely the story of the evolution of the "governing class," is an extremely interesting and even "fruitful" theory. But it is purely fantastic unless we bear in mind that the governing class has been continually compelled to enlarge itself, and that its tendency is reluctantly to go on doing so until in the end it will be coterminous with the "governed class." History is a tale of exploitation, but it is also a tale of liberation, and the over-emphasis which Mr. Chesterton lays on exploitation by Parliaments as compared with exploitation by Popes and Kings, can only be due to infidelity in regard to some of the central principles of freedom. Surely it is possible to condemn the Insurance Act, if it must be condemned, without apologizing either for the Roman Empire or for the Roman ecclesiastical system. Mr. Chesterton, however, believes in giving way to one's prejudices. He says that history should be written backwards; and what does this mean but that it should be dyed in prejudice? Thus, in his reference to so innocent a matter as the Hanoverian succession, he indulges in a sudden outburst of heated rhetoric such as one might expect rather in a leading article about the present war. He writes:—

"With George there entered England something that had scarcely been seen there before; something hardly mentioned in mediæval or Renaissance writing, except as one mentions a Hottentot—the barbarian from beyond the Rhine."

Similarly, his characterization of the Revolution of 1688 is largely a result of his dislike of the governing classes at the present hour:—

"The Revolution reduced us to a country wholly governed by gentlemen; the popular universities and schools of the Middle Ages, like their guilds and abbeys, had been seized and turned into what they are—factories of gentlemen when they are not merely factories of snobs."

Both of these statements contain a grain or two of truth, but neither of them contains enough truth to be true. One might describe them as sweetmeats of history of small nutritious value. One might say the same of his comment on the alliance between Chatham and Frederick the Great:—

"The cannibal theory of a commonwealth, that it can of its nature eat other commonwealths, had entered Christendom."

How finely said! But, alas! the cannibal theory of a commonwealth existed long before Chatham and Frederick the Great. The instinct to exploit is one of the most venerable instincts of the human race, whether in individual men or in nations of men; and ancient Hebrew and ancient Greek and ancient Roman had exhausted the passion of centuries in obedience to it before the language spoken either by Chatham or by Frederick was born. Christian Spain, Christian France, and Christian England had not in this matter disowned the example of their Jewish and Pagan forerunners.

What we are infinitely grateful to Mr. Chesterton for, however, is that he has sufficient imagination to loathe cannibalism wherever he sees it. True, he seems to forgive certain forms of cannibalism on the ground that it is an exaggeration to describe the flesh of a rich man as the flesh of a human being. But he does rage with genius at the continual eating of men that went on in England, especially after the spoliation of the monasteries in the reign of Henry



the Eighth gave full scope to the greed of the strong. He sees that the England which Whig and Tory combined to defend as the perfection of the civilized world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was an England governed by men whose chief claim to govern was founded on the fact that they had seized their country and were holding it against their countrymen. Mr. Chesterton rudely shatters the mirror of perfection in which the possessing class have long seen themselves. He writes in a brilliant passage:—

"It could truly be said of the English gentleman, as of another gallant and gracious individual, that his honor stood rooted in dishonor. He was, indeed, somewhat in the position of such an aristocrat of romance, whose splendor has the dark spot of a secret and a sort of blackmail. . . . His glory did not come from the Crusades, but from the Great Pillage. . . . The oligarchs were descended from usurers and thieves. That, for good or evil, was the paradox of England; the typical aristocrat was the typical upstart.

"But the secret was worse; not only was such a family founded on stealing, but the family was stealing still. It is a grim truth that, all through the eighteenth century, all through the great Whig speeches about liberty, all through the great Tory speeches about patriotism, through the period of Wandiwash and Plassey, through the period of Trafalgar and Waterloo, one process was steadily going on in the central senate of the nation. Parliament was passing Bill after Bill for the enclosure by the great landlords of such of the common lands as had survived out of the great communal system of the Middle Ages. It is much more than a pun, it is the prime political irony of our history, that the Commons were destroying the commons."

It would be folly to suggest, however, that, conscious though Mr. Chesterton is of the crimes of history, he has turned history into a mere series of floggings of criminals. He is forever laying down the whip and inviting the criminals to take their seats while he paints gorgeous portraits of them in all the colors of the rainbow. His praise of the mighty rhetoricians of the eighteenth century could in some passages scarcely be more unstinted if he were a Whig of the Whigs. He cannot but admire the rotund speech and swelling adventures of those days. If we go further back, we find him portraying even the Puritans with a strange splendor of color:—

"They were, above all things, anti-historic, like the Futurists in Italy; and there was this unconscious greatness about them, that their very sacrilege was public and solemn, like a sacrament; and they were ritualists even as iconoclasts. It was, properly considered, but a very secondary example of their strange and violent simplicity that one of them, before a mighty mob at Whitehall, cut off the anointed head of the sacramental man of the Middle Ages. For another, far away in the western shires, cut down the thorn of Glastonbury, from which had grown the whole story of Britain."

This last passage is valuable, not only because it reveals Mr. Chesterton as a marvellous rhetorician doing the honors of prose to his enemies, but because it helps to explain the essentially tragic view he takes of English history. We exaggerated a moment ago when we said that to Mr. Chesterton English history is the story of the rise of a governing class. What it really is to him is the story of a thorn-bush cut down by a Puritan. He has hung all the candles of his faith on the sacred thorn, like the lights on a Christmas-tree, and lo! it has been cut down and cast out of England with as little respect as though it were a verse from the Sermon on the Mount. It may be, we admit, that Mr. Chesterton's sight is erratic, and that what he took to be the sacred thorn was really a Upas-tree. But in a sense that does not matter. He is entitled to his own fable, if he tells it honestly and beautifully; and it is as a tragic fable or romance of the downfall of liberty in England that one reads this book. He himself contends in the last chapter of his book that the crisis in English history came "with the fall of Richard II., following on his failure to use medieval despotism in the interests of medieval democracy." Mr. Chesterton's history would hardly be worth reading, if he had made nothing more of it than is suggested in that sentence. His book (apart from occasional sloughs of sophistry and fallacious argument) is great because it is a song of praise and dolour chanted by the imagination concerning an England that obeyed not God and despised the Tree of Life, but that may yet, he believes, hear once more the ancestral voices, and with her sons arrayed in trade unions and guilds, march riotously back into the Garden of Eden.

## THE SENSE OF THE PAST.

"The Road and the Inn." By JAMES JOHN HISSEY. (Macmillan. 10s. net.)

WHAT is called "the sense of the Past" is perhaps at bottom the sense of the Permanent. It is also the sense of the Future. It is the sense of an abiding order of things which the human generations traverse in their turn. It is the sense of our transitoriness in contrast with the permanence of the world's life. The fascination of what are called "antiquities" lies in the sense of an effect produced by the transient upon the abiding; if you will, upon the Eternal. These things are scribbles left by those who have passed before us upon the great lasting walls of the architecture that remains. This poignant sense of our own transience gives its charm to the past. In some town, say of south-west France, a butterfly floats through the Rue de l'Amiral and sails out over the broad Atlantic, leaving behind no trace or memory of its passage. Man, apparently as fleeting, perpetuates his moment, leaves his signature upon the great framework of things through which he passes.

Men have always thought of themselves as travellers, of human life as a journey. The technical name given by medieval theologians to our mortal life was the "Via." The great structure of things through which men pass remains largely unaffected by their transit. The traveller—say, St. Francis Xavier traversing his native country of Navarre, on his way from Rome to the Indies—rests on a summer evening on a stone bridge over a clear stream and watches the boys of a Basque sixteenth-century hamlet catching crayfish in the river. The roads stretch away in all directions, his own road lies before him, fateful and mysterious. The great movements are astir which are to influence the world so profoundly and yet leave it so unchanged; but there is that one moment of the life of the world in itself complete and self-contained. Or think of the day of his arrival, a dozen years before, as a student at the medieval University of Paris. The passers in the streets draw their cloaks close around them, the light fades from the leaden sky, the wind blows in cold gusts, the sere leaves rustle down—here is the scene on the great lasting stage, the play always going on in which he has come to take a momentary part.

The charm of the road is that so many wayfarers have traversed it before us and left traces of their passage, and that though they are gone yet the roads remain. The roads traversed by Mr. Hissey in his new book are homely and familiar ones. His journey, performed in a motor car, takes him from Sussex to Fenland and back again. He writes very unpretentiously—an unkind critic might say in a somewhat trite and banal style; but the sense of the Past is strong upon him. He is a genuine lover of old things. He is happy with Toby jugs and warming-pans, with fans and snuff-boxes, with old clocks and beds. He loves these things because through them he is in touch with the great permanent reality—human life. His heart is in quiet country towns, with their old-fashioned shops and unspoiled market places, and above all, their inns. The inn indeed has always been a chief feature of the road. There have been cynics who have said that it is at an inn that the traveller on life's journey finds his warmest welcome. There was no doubt a beautiful tradition of welcome coming down through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, almost to our own times, but we fear few traces of it anywhere remain. The present writer confesses to sharing Mr. Hissey's love for old inns. To begin with, he loves the signs. The History of England may be deciphered from her inn-signs. The "Nelson and Victory" tells its tale of the England of a hundred years ago; "The Mermaid" hints at tales of the seas brought home by Elizabethan sailors; "The Angel," "The Salutation," "The Cross Keys," belong to Catholic England, "The Saracen's Head" dates from the Crusades. Mr. Hissey, by the way, gives a description of the vanished sign of a White Hart Inn in Norfolk, which positively makes one's water. He quotes Bloomefield's "History of Norfolk" as follows:—

"The White Hart is much noted in these parts. . . . It was built in 1635 by John Peck, Esq., whose arms are over the door. The sign is very large, and beautified all over with a great number of images of large stature carved in wood."

John Peck spent over £1,000 on the sign alone. Mr. Hissey has seen an engraving of it, and describes it as a "massive and elaborate structure, bridging the road." In the centre



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of the cross-beam was a hart. It was surrounded by figures of Diana with her bow and dogs, Actæon, Bacchus, Charon—"a truly astonishing sign." "Why was it ever pulled down?" he asks plaintively. Why, indeed?

Such a sumptuous sign must surely have indicated a delectable inn. Though for the matter of that, all inns—to call inns—are delectable. Who does not know the description of the inn in "Barnaby Rudge?" Inns seem to belong to more spacious days—the times when things like punch-bowls were in daily use, the cups and glasses that people now keep behind glass doors of cupboards, looking upon them as curiosities rather than things meant to be used. Meals in old roomy inns often give one the sense of the past. It is perhaps the effect of a genial expansion. One thinks that in just such a room—in some cases that very room—on just such a day people were eating their venison pasty, in the days of Richard Crook-back. Or at a Somersetshire market ordinary one gets back into the seventeenth century. The farmers eating and drinking about one are all King's men. The Tories were the party of good cheer, though no doubt also there were oysters eaten and white wine drunk in the taverns of the Whigs.

Mr. Hissey finds this sense of the past especially in sleeping in rooms that some time have been occupied by great historic figures or tragic fated kings. He writes in his artless way:—

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To the present writer also there is a great fascination about such rooms as these. The bedsteads themselves in the inns and manor-houses of Old England are occasionally gorgeous pieces of furniture. At one time there was a marvellous carved and gilded bed at Tangley Manor, near Guildford. It has vanished like the sign of that Norfolk Inn, but a picture of it may be seen. "It was a very Catholic bed" the attendant told the writer. In the neighborhood of Tangley is the grandiose manor-house of Losely, and the house at Wanborough with its more homely and tender charm. All these places are full of the Past. Mr. Hissey by the way mentions the richly decorated Tudor manor-house of East Barsham in Norfolk, now used as a farmhouse. This fairly took the writer's breath away as he came unexpectedly upon it. Even more than from inns or manor-houses does the sense of the past breathe from certain churches. As one thinks, for instance, of the little Catholic chapels hidden away in the great roaring eighteenth century, how it invades and overcomes one. What an atmosphere hung about the old Sardinian Chapel! All these things and places evoke the sense of permanence of something which one travels up to and rests in for a moment as so many generations have done before us, and so many will yet do. This sense of being in a succession, one of countless passers-by who leave behind them the thing that remains, is sometimes called up by nature alone, without any help of human architecture. One goes out some morning in October when the beech leaves are all yellow, or some magical morning of August, all mist and sunshine, a morning of hollyhocks, and one has the sense of all those who have known such mornings and are gone.

#### A METAPHYSICAL DEFENCE OF THE SOUL.

"Problems of the Self." An Essay based on the Shaw Lectures given in the University of Edinburgh, March, 1914. By JOHN LAIRD, M.A., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the Queen's University of Belfast. (Macmillan. 12s. net.)

THE aim of this book, as we are told in the preface, "is to show why there must be a soul, and in what sense precisely

this soul should be understood." The question whether or not there is such a thing as the soul is one which has acquired a perhaps undeserved importance in the popular mind through its supposed connection with the problem of immortality. It was held that human beings have souls, though animals have none; but it was not supposed by plain men that animals were mere unconscious automata, as Descartes taught. The soul was conceived as something implied not by the kind of consciousness and life that belongs to animals, but rather by moral responsibility and the knowledge of good and evil: it was essentially the subject of rewards or punishments after death. Since Darwin, metaphysicians have widened the franchise; the benefits which they wish to confer on Man have to be extended, at least in some degree, to the higher animals, if not to everything that has life. Accordingly those who now defend the soul no longer regard it as specifically human. Moreover, Mr. Laird will disappoint some readers by confessing that the soul, as he understands it, affords no guarantee of immortality, though it leaves open the possibility of survival after death.

Mr. Laird's attitude towards philosophical problems is, on the whole, a conservative one. There is much discussion of the views of the great philosophers, including some who (like Fichte, for example), though always appearing in the list of eminent names, are seldom honored nowadays by any further mention. One feels that the author's bias is towards what is safe and traditional; he has little sympathy for iconoclastic theories. For example, the theory of the American realists, following William James, to the effect that there is no difference between the mental and the physical except as two ways of arranging the same material, is only very briefly discussed in connection with James's essay, "Does Consciousness Exist?" No one who has studied this theory in its developments, and has seriously attempted to refute it, can regard Mr. Laird's discussion as even approximately adequate; yet it is obvious that such a theory must be solidly refuted before the existence of the soul can be regarded as established. Nevertheless, within its limitations, the present volume is a careful and lucid discussion of an important topic. The author's meaning is generally made quite clear, though he does not always defend his contentions adequately against objections which are likely to occur to readers who disagree with him.

Mr. Laird's appeal throughout is professedly to purely empirical data. From such data, in spite of cases of multiple personality and kindred phenomena, he deduces the unity and continuity of the self, and attempts to demonstrate that the soul is a "substance." The word "substance" is somewhat *démodé*, and it requires courage to lay emphasis on it; but in spite of a good deal of discussion the meaning assigned to it in this book is not made as clear as could be wished. One traditional definition, according to which a substance is an "ultimate subject"—i.e., something which can only occur in a proposition as its subject, never as adjective or verb—is rejected as inadequate, since it is held that, though all substances are ultimate subjects, some ultimate subjects are universals, and therefore not substances. This appears to be a logical error, but a very pardonable one, since the question what terms can be ultimate subjects is difficult, and existing philosophical literature throws little light upon it. Mr. Laird's view appears to be that the unity and continuity of one man's life make the system of his experiences combine into one single thing, the soul. Here also, in supposing that a system of many things can be one thing, he will have against him a body of logical opinion which, whether true or false, must be refuted before his conclusion can be regarded as safe from criticism.

Personal identity is partly a plain fact, partly a theory. It is clear beyond dispute that one man's experiences belong together in a unity in a way which separates them from the experiences of other men, however similar in quality they may be to those other experiences. The plain man is convinced that the unity of his experiences is due to the fact that they all belong to *him*, and that *he* is a persistent entity, the same to-day as he was yesterday. He rejects unhesitatingly such theories as those of Hume or James (if he ever hears of them), according to which there is no single unitary self, but only a succession of thoughts and feelings and volitions bound together in various ways. But this

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unreflecting belief does not long survive a process of critical scrutiny, unless it can obtain the support of what look like arguments. It may be doubted whether there would be the same eagerness to find arguments if the pragmatic unimportance of the question were realized. The interconnection of one man's experiences is an important fact, but whether this is brought about by direct relations between the experiences or by their being all related to one more or less persistent thing—the Ego—is a question of which the importance is purely metaphysical. The question would only have practical importance if it were held that every substance must be indestructible—a view which was maintained by Descartes and his followers, but which is rightly rejected by Mr. Laird. From an empirical standpoint such as his, it can make no difference to our expectations whether we accept or reject the unitary Ego, since the series of our experiences will be the same on either hypothesis.

The question as to what can be inferred concerning the nature of the Ego from our empirical knowledge of its experiences, turns, as do all similar questions, upon logic. Mr. Laird's logic is not very clear. On the one hand, he rejects the monistic logic of Hegel and those who descend from him, and he denies that "relations necessarily make a difference to the intrinsic character of the terms related" (p. 228), which is the central doctrine of this school. On the other hand, his Ego, though a substance, seems to be conceived, not as a simple thing, whose experiences are its adjectives, but as the system of which its experiences are parts. To regard such a system as one thing seems to belong to the Hegelian logic which has been rejected. Mr. Laird very properly rejects, in successive chapters, the views which regard feeling alone, or will alone, or knowledge alone, as constituting the essence of the Self. But when he has so widened the Self as to embrace all that happens to it, and when he has rejected the notion of a metaphysical subject *behind* phenomena, it is difficult to see how a man's soul differs from the series of his experiences. Such difference as there is would seem to rest upon a somewhat inadequate logic. But the adequacy of a logic may be tested by the paucity of the conclusions that it allows: the better our logic, the less it will permit us to infer. This is a gloomy conclusion for the metaphysician, but to that vast majority who abominate metaphysics it can bring nothing but comfort.

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Mr. Martin's book starts another curious reflection, and that is: How sparingly a poetry so incomparably rich as ours, vastly richer than that of any other European nation, is democratic. If we exclude the minors, such as Elliott and the Chartist group, very fine in their way, we cannot point to much more than Langland, Shelley, Blake, and Burns—poets who so radically associated the cause of humanity with the cause of God. Byron encrusted his really noble and genuine democratic feeling with so many other and adventitious Aids to a Large Public. Wordsworth recanted, and was never, even in his young days, an unqualified partizan of the French Revolution. Coleridge was a democratic poet spasmodically, as, unhappily, he was fragmentary in everything else. Browning had so many other interests. Meredith, we feel, would have preferred young Pagans to democrats; and Gray, Cowper, Goldsmith, and

Crabbe hardly commit themselves sufficiently. The explanation is, we think, by no means such as to cast a slur upon our poets, and involves the nature of poetry itself. Use what euphemisms we will, the object of poetry is the praise of God, and the poetic expression at its most perfect is a revelation of the nature and substance of divinity. As God is best revealed to us in the works of God, and those works manifest themselves to us visibly and immediately in Man and in Nature, their correspondence and identity with their great Form and Exemplar is the sovereign business of poetry and art—poetry and art which come somewhere in between religion, whose business it is to understand and appreciate God, and politics whose business (curious as it may seem) it is to understand and appreciate man. The greatest poetry, that is to say, is implicitly democratic—always and inevitably—and a study of democratic poets is not one of admissions and exclusions, but of a relative degree and deliberation of approach.

Mr. Masefield is one of Mr. Martin's selections, a choice which, were he to bear in mind some of the less amiable tendencies of Mr. Masefield's rustics, might not perhaps commend itself to an ardent democrat. "Good Friday" is a play of the Crucifixion, with Pilate and Procula his wife, Herod, Longinus the centurion, Joseph of Ramah, and a madman for the principal figures. Whether from a desire to treat the material of his drama obliquely or whether he frankly recognizes not only his own limitations, but those of the artist confronted by so tremendous a theme, Mr. Masefield does not introduce the august figure of the chief actor. Nor is the play really a drama at all, but a series of scenes and impressions, wherein the savage passions of the Jewish mob, the marchings of the soldiery, the rapid sequence of events and the convulsions of nature, assume the prominence. The scenic effect of such a method demands, therefore, an extremely supple and responsive form of metre, and Mr. Masefield, we think, makes an initial mistake in selecting (except for the monologues of the madman) the rhymed couplet, and that, too, without lifting it out or revivifying it from the accentual monotony and invariable equality of emphasis which custom has imposed upon it. This speech of Pilate's, for instance:—

"Yes, you may have him when the guards give leave.  
Wait. In a case like this, men may believe  
That the dead master is not really dead.  
This preaching man, this King, has been the head  
Of men who may be good and mean no harm,  
Whose tenets, none the less, have caused alarm  
First to the priests, and through the priests to me  
I wish this preacher's followers to see  
That teaching of the kind is to be curbed.  
I mean, established truths may be disturbed,  
But not the Jews, nor Rome. You understand?"

That is to make rhyme and metre an accident, and to induce the obvious reflection that the speech would more appropriately, and even with a greater sensitiveness of impact, have been written in prose. Neither, we fear, is the interpolation of the madman into the structure of the old narrative, of the happiest. Mr. Masefield intends him to serve the function of the chorus in the tragedy, to embody its spiritual significance, and to utter the terrible, ironical truths concealed from the others. The author, that is to say, throws a heavy burden upon the madman's part, and to put into the mouth of this wild soothsayer discursive and abstract meditations upon Beauty, Truth, Wisdom, "Life's roaring street," and so on, is certainly to make that part undramatic, and, a strict criticism might say, trivial. The madman, for instance, ends the play in this strain:—

"Wisdom that lives in the pure skies,  
The untouched star, the spirit's eyes;  
O Beauty, touch me, make me wise."

The larger issues of the play remain. With the marvellous Gospel narrative before him, it is a platitude to call upon the artist for a bold, original, and profound treatment of his material. We have, indeed, to call upon him for more than that, even to give him the alternative of extremes. Either, we have the right to say to him, treat it as Sophocles might have done, or as Anatole France in the "Procurator of Judea" has done. There is no room here for the minor arts—only for intensity of vision and for an insight of whatever kind which throws the theme into a new perspective. It is a criticism tempered by the extremity placed upon him

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that Mr. Masefield has failed to do this. He has somehow conceived his subject in a minor key, and executed it rather mechanically in the spirit of episode and point-to-point narrative. And from this point of view, the treatment of the mob and the portents reads less as the image and symbol of stress and conflict than as an extraneous pressure upon the action and movement of the play. Nor does Mr. Masefield greatly individualize Pilate, that so provoking figure, whose ambiguity and hinted superiority to his official position should excite the imagination of the artist. Sincere and earnest as the play is, we do not feel through it the martyrdom so divine and so unspeakably human of the finest of artists and greatest of democrats.

### THE BIBLE IN SPAIN.

"Cardinal Ximenes." By JAMES P. R. LYELL, F.R.Hist.Soc. (Grafton & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

THE Spanish Bible, of which Mr. Lyell gives in this volume an exhaustive account, is the Complutensian Polyglot, published in the early years of the sixteenth century, under the auspices and at the expense of Cardinal Ximenes, the great Archbishop of Toledo. The word "Complutensian" deserves explanation. It comes from "Complutum," the old Roman name given to the little town of Alcalá de Henares, of the University of which Ximenes was the munificent founder. On the production of the great Bible the Cardinal spent more than the equivalent of £230,000. In his preface to the Polyglot he thus explains the reason of his undertaking:—

"Every theologian should be able to drink of that water which springeth up to eternal life at the fountain-head itself. This is the reason therefore we have ordered the Bible to be printed in the original languages with different translations. . . . To accomplish this task we have been obliged to have recourse to the knowledge of the most able philologists and to make researches in every direction for the best and most ancient Hebrew and Greek MSS. Our object is to revive the hitherto dormant study of the Sacred Scriptures."

The work was in six volumes. Mr. Lyell's book contains several plates giving reproductions of some of the printer's devices and title-pages, among them a sumptuous Old Testament title-page from the copy in the British Museum, at the corners of which the author says are "representations of a Pope, a Cardinal, a Bishop, and a mitred Abbot." These figures, by the way, of course, represent the four Doctors of the Church, St. Gregory, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Ambrose.

More interesting than these are the portraits of Ximenes himself. It is the face of an ecclesiastic rather than a Saint—or perhaps of a saint of the type of Dominic or Savonarola. The true saint has a great deal of humanism in his composition. Many to whom the saints are altogether lovable are repelled by the ecclesiastics. His, however, is the face of a man of the utmost sincerity, fearlessness, and single-mindedness. It is an astonishingly medieval face. It has the fanaticism of Savonarola—the mouth and chin strongly recall him—together with the worldly wisdom and practical ability which Savonarola lacked. The life of Ximenes, and indeed his face, throw a striking light on Spanish Christianity—on what had come to be understood as the meaning of the Bible in Spain. He was all his life a strenuous and unflinching fighter for what he believed to be the cause of righteousness. Drawn from obscurity by the sheer force of character and merit, he became (against the wish of the King) Archbishop of Toledo and Confessor to Queen Isabella. The Archbishopric of Toledo carried with it the office of Chancellor of Castile. He drastically reformed the corrupt monastic orders, and assisted at the conversion of the Moors. This last process was accompanied by such incidents as the burning of a great bonfire of priceless Arabic manuscripts and illuminated copies of the Koran (like Savonarola's Bonfire of Vanities), and by the loading of his principal opponent, Zegri, with chains. In spite of these methods he appears to have made a genuine convert of Zegri himself. He founded the University of Alcalá, and produced the great Polyglot Bible. He also restored the magnificent but almost forgotten Mozarabic Liturgy. When over seventy years of age he acted as Commander-in-Chief of the Expeditionary Force

sent out for the conquest of Oran. At the age of eighty, on the death of Ferdinand, he was made Regent of Castile. As Chancellor his ideal of government had been to some extent perhaps a benevolent, but certainly what he regarded as a salutary despotism. To quote Mr. Lyell, who leaves us in no doubt as to the direction in which his own sympathies lie:—

"He realized, and no one better, that the outstanding need of his time was a firm, if not arbitrary, form of government. With no delusions as to the advantages of democracy, he encouraged the King and Queen to ignore the Cortes. It was very rarely called together throughout their long reign, and then only for the purpose of voting supplies for several years ahead."

As Regent he determined to investigate the treatment of the Indians, on which subject strange stories had reached his ears. Among other excellent regulations, he published a decree forbidding the exportation of negro slaves from Africa into America. This provoked strong opposition from the Spanish colonists. During the discussion of these matters his long years of labor came to an end. One other activity of his must not be left unnoticed—the zeal and efficiency with which he performed the duties of his Office as Inquisitor-General of Spain. He was responsible for the introduction of the Holy Office into the New World. He also bribed the King by the offer of a large sum of money drawn from the revenues of his See to rescind a concession he had made to the "New Christians" that the procedure of the Inquisition should be assimilated to that of the ordinary courts. It must be remembered that the Holy Office was a very popular institution in sixteenth-century Spain. In a Corpus Christi procession of that time the figure of the Grand Inquisitor would be a centre of attraction and interest only second to the Host Itself. Fray, Luis of Granada, that most touching of devotional writers, praises the Inquisition for the mildness and gentleness of the pains it inflicted, of which he says the chief is strangulation, "a torment lasting barely a Hail Mary's space." Ximenes may have been hated by grasping nobles, licentious priests, and brutal colonists, but he was loved—nay, adored,—by the Spanish populace. Modern people look at these things differently. A new way of looking at human suffering as something important in itself, apart from questions of religion, loyalty, patriotism, and the like, came in with the French Encyclopædists, and the humanitarian (perhaps rather than humane) Methodist Revival in England. On most modern readers the great ecclesiastic will probably produce an antipathetic impression.

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in neutral countries on the Continent, by societies or groups which during the war have been devoting themselves to a study of the issue, prefacing these documents with an exceedingly able and full introduction, on which the chief points of similarity and difference are discussed.

Since the primary, though not by any means the only, object of these various schemes is to provide arrangements for a pacific settlement of differences between nations, all of them distinguish two classes of disputes—those which are what is termed “justiciable,” or capable of settlement by the procedure of a tribunal, and those which are not. In all the schemes here cited, except that of the Dutch Committee, justiciable means disputes arising out of points of international law or the interpretation of treaties. The Dutch Committee, however, apparently actuated by some not unnatural distrust of international law, would confine justiciable cases to those which the respective parties had actually bound themselves by treaty to submit to judicial decision. As to non-justiciable issues, there is a wider divergence of proposed treatment, and since most of the more difficult and inflammable matters are of this class, it is exceedingly important to work out a sound procedure. Here Mr. Woolf is perhaps the first to discover, or at any rate to assign its just significance to the respective part which conciliation, on the one hand, impartial inquiry, upon the other, should play in dealing with cases that lie outside the purview of law and treaty. Here he brings assistance from the experience of disputes in industry.

“When a strike occurs and Sir George Askwith goes down and attempts a settlement, he proceeds by way of conciliation and mediation; he tries, we may be sure, to find by way of compromise a solution which will be accepted by both sides: if a settlement suggested by him is refused, he promptly suggests another. But very often in labor disputes an entirely different method is tried: the whole question is referred to an independent and impartial person or body, which investigates and recommends a fair settlement.”

Which method should be adopted depends chiefly upon how far the dispute is one of facts and the value of evidence, or how far one of temper or general policy. Mr. Woolf illustrates the distinction in international disputes by comparison of the Dogger Bank incident and the question of the Bagdad Railway. Both are non-justifiable, both are highly inflammatory in character. The former, however, was excellently fitted for the method successfully applied, viz., that of a Commission of Inquiry. No such Commission could have procured a settlement of the Bagdad Railway question which was not in essence a dispute of fact. It was suited for a different process, that of compromise and conciliation by some impartial person, if such could be agreed upon. This distinction in the mode of settlement, as Mr. Woolf shows, carries with it a not less important distinction as to the type of person employed to bring a settlement about, for a successful investigator is a different person from a successful conciliator. In discussing the proposals of two different groups for dealing with non-justiciable cases, we think Mr. Woolf does not quite accurately represent the position either of the Bryce Committee or of the Fabian Society, as given in their drafts. The Bryce Committee does not, as he asserts, provide that their Council of Conciliation “shall first by its good offices seek to mediate between the two parties, and that then, if the mediation is unsuccessful, it shall proceed to make an investigation, report and recommendation for settlement.” It does not propose that an inquiry, report, and recommendation shall follow an unsuccessful mediation; the two processes are made applicable to different sorts of cases. So also in the Fabian draft (p. 104) mediation and conciliation are not tried first, then a commission of inquiry. Four alternative courses are offered.

The impossibility of securing lasting peace without adequate provision for changes in international law will be generally admitted, though several of the groups, desirous doubtless not to cause alarm by parading the necessity of establishing some sort of international legislature, omit all reference to it. In a changing world any attempt to stereotype the *status quo* obviously would be impracticable. Yet even Mr. Woolf deprecates the representation of machinery for international legislation as a “world Parliament.” He prefers to call it “a permanent international conference.”

For all that it would in effect be a world Parliament, because, as Mr. Woolf freely recognizes, legislative and judicial powers must be accompanied by some sort of executive body “to watch over and promote the operation and fulfilment of the obligations as regards pacific settlement of the signatory Powers.”

The schemes differ most widely upon the issues of sanctions and membership. On the former, they are graded from the no-force sanction of the “Community of Nations” to the Fabian proposals for using joint-force, not only to compel submission of disputes, but to ensure the fulfilment of judicial and, in certain cases, non-justiciable awards. When the matter comes on to the actual stage of politics, probably the greatest difficulty will arise in determining what States shall become original members, and upon what basis of representation. This thorny question may well be left out of the earlier discussions of the project, though it involves some theoretical and practical problems which ultimately must be faced.

In fact, the operation of a League of Nations bristles with difficulties. But this is no reason for setting it aside. For no other way of saving civilization is even plausible. And, after all, the process is only an extension of the evolution which has welded small States into large States, and the latter into federal Empires, a process which has gained remarkable acceleration within the last century. Only those who desire the perpetuation of war with its increasing horrors will denounce as Utopian this only way of salvation. “Everything is Utopian until it is tried.” And, we may add, “Call nothing Utopian until it has been tried.”

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agonizes over "the first grey hair," and takes at once to dyeing—and we can see that this is true, since no one ever yet beheld a woman with grey hair. Unreasonably, though, we find ourself half-wishing that our guide could change the subject of his dulcet whispers; and when we realize that he cannot, we slip our hand from his and run back over the hill to our prison, meeting on the way his sister-in-fiction, Mrs. Florence Barclay. These two sing as with one voice—we all know, in every sense, to what a tune. Mrs. Barclay leads us through a crypt this time—the mile-long crypt by which The White Ladies daily went to Vespers. On a day the procession came back with one more nun in it than had gone out. That nun was a man, and he was the lover of the Prioress. The title-page instructs us that we are in the twelfth century; so, indeed, we well may be—in that or any other century; the title-page alone concerns itself with such details. There is a Bishop, snowy-haired yet youthful, with "humorous lips," a fabulous ring, a fabulous mind, so liberal that the Lover-Knight is fain to rebuke it. But then he has a silver shield to keep for ever bright; his name is Hugh d'Argent. . . . We have escaped, like the Prioress. Our eyes are "lifted to the evening star"; and yet we are not happy. We turn and run back to our prison, and feel fain to stay there.

But we must not let hope die—we must try again. A sterner road confronts us now. We must escape, this time, by way of the French Revolution; Miss Marjorie Bowen and the Baroness Orczy offer themselves as guides. On each path we shall encounter a pair of lovers; Miss Bowen's pair is "guilty"; the Baroness Orczy's pair is married and in desperate straits. But the "Scarlet Pimpernel" is on their track; we need not tremble for them. And indeed we do not; we await him with composure in a screaming house of ill-fame at Nantes, during the Noyades period. We know that we shall not recognize the Pimpernel, that he will be there only when we are convinced that he is elsewhere—and so it is, immutably. This version of the French Revolution does not flash or gleam; scarce a jewel shows, the aristocrats give place to the sans-culottes—Baroness Orczy's outlook is a stern one. But trust Miss Bowen to make up for that. She will dress it superbly; every hour—nay, every minute—the gowns and coats shall change; the scene shall glint with jewels, gleam with tulip-wood and amber hangings. Now and again, as by afterthought, historic names shall casually sound—Camille Desmoulins, Robespierre, Marie Antoinette; but the Aristocrat is the thing. Indeed, if the aristocrat of the French Revolution had not existed, he must have been invented by the novelists; we sometimes ask ourself if he were not? For was there ever such a way of escape from poor humanity's inept consistency as this amalgam of all the vices and half the virtues? But the hero of "The Third Estate" does not go to the guillotine. Is not this escape indeed—for us? . . . And yet, ill-conditioned that we are, we again feel prison-sick—there is not so much hot air in prison.

By now we have lost confidence, if not hope. We doubtfully regard our next guide, as he leads us up a staircase in Clement's Inn. Is not his hair too white, his face too pink, his eye too keen and blue? His business is the hushing-up of scandals, and so he is called, wittily, the Scandal-monger. But we are cross; we mutter sulkily: "There are no scandals, there is only nothing here. All is scraped up from the Inane by Nobody." Hurling ourself down the staircase, we cannot believe that we went ever up it. There may be a Mr. Le Queux, but for us there is no such book as "The Scandal-monger." It never was, nor could be. . . . Now, outside our prison, we see a lady building up a temple. We ask her in whose honor she erects it. She says: "Enter, you will see." This is a new way of escape; we gladly enter. It is a symmetrically built temple; there is no one in it. But the lady assures us we are mistaken—there are many people in it. We look again, but still we cannot see the people; we see only carven life-size figures, and they are not so strongly moulded but that we can catch them wavering on their pedestals. We advance to the high altar; there we shall discover the presiding deity. It is a goddess—the chill goddess called Construction. We shiver in her shadow; the lady builds on carefully and well; the carven figures wobble; the cold goddess smiles. The lamps are lit; we look about once more; there is not one living creature in

the temple but ourself, and we are frozen. Sadly we come out, and sadly, gladly, we re-enter the old prison. The six ways are tried, and we return. Prison for prison, we will stay in the Leaden one.

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Lord Eversley writes without bias against the Turks, but his constant reference to the bloodthirstiness of the Sultans does not induce impartiality in a reader of his history. It is not merely that Mahomet the Conqueror made fratricide legal, but that his example was followed down to the beginning of last century, when seclusion in the "Cage" was often substituted for slaughter. Every Sultan sought to make himself secure by the murder of his relations.

Better things might have been hoped of Solyman, who is correctly described as the greatest ruler of the Ottoman race, yet he, acting on the instigation of a favorite in the harem, who wished her own son to be the successor to the throne, sacrificed his elder son Mustapha by another wife. This son, on his return from a victorious campaign in Persia, was seized by mutes on his entry into the palace and strangled before his father's eyes. A generation later, in 1595, Moslem public opinion curiously confirmed the practice of killing possible claimants to the throne. Mahomet

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III., who succeeded his father in that year, was not without ability, but the bloodthirsty instinct was in him. On his accession he killed nineteen of his brothers. The deed had public approval, for the victims were followed to the grave by high dignitaries of the State and a large crowd. Six favorite slaves of the eldest son, who might be expected to give birth to possible claimants to the throne, were sewn up in sacks and thrown into the Bosphorus.

Child murder in the Imperial harem was the rule. The annals even of the first half of last century record the unsuccessful struggles of a strong Sultan like Mahmud II. to put an end to the practice, but he merely forced it below the surface. When, in 1909, the Young Turks dethroned Abdul Hamid, the Sultan pleaded for his own life on the ground that he had spared that of his brother Murad, and had allowed Reshad Effendi, the present Mahomet V., to live.

Lord Eversley frequently insists that the constantly recurring massacres of non-Moslem subjects were much more due to rapacity than to Moslem fanaticism. It is well that this statement should be emphasized. The attitude of Moslems to Christians is best dealt with historically. The streamlet of Turk and Mongol invaders, which had begun to trickle into Asia Minor through its north-east corner, became by the time of the first Ottoman Sultans a steady stream which could not be dammed. Religion sat very lightly upon the invaders. Marriages frequently took place between them and women professing Christianity. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that down to the present time it is not unusual for a Turk to marry a Christian woman, who is allowed to continue the practices of her religion. The invading Turks were a fighting race; their occupation of Asia Minor kept their hands well in with fighting. The Asiatic invaders instinctively chose the religion which bade them subdue the professors of all other creeds and kill unbelievers. The massacres of Greeks in the 'twenties of last century (especially that of the Island of Chios), of the Bulgarians in the 'seventies, and of the Armenians in the 'nineties were all instigated by the desire of plunder. A man who had gone out for loot, and in gathering it was opposed, felt no hesitation in killing his opponent whom his religious prejudice told him he had a right to kill.

The event which did most to stimulate Moslem fanaticism was the creation of the Janissaries. It is true that regiments formed of Christians existed before 1355, and that the full development of the Janissaries did not take place until the reign of the first Murad 1359-1389; but from the time when Hadji Baba threw his sleeve over the head of one of the leaders of the New Troops and called them Janissaries, the seizure of Christian boys was a blood tax of the most unforgivable character. It was far and away the heaviest grievance to which the Christians under Moslem rule had to submit. The growth of the Janissaries is well told. Their strict discipline, their absolute seclusion from the influence of their families, and their severe training in the tenets of Islam made them invincible leaders of the Turkish Army, and gave them the great series of victories of Kossovo-Pol, Varna, and the capture of Constantinople in 1453. But the exaction of this blood tax greatly widened the breach between the professors of the two creeds. In the triumph of the Janissaries, after 1453, the corps had become more conservative of its right to exclude all not of Christian birth. A case could probably be made out to show that the Janissaries, remembering their own Christian origin, were more lenient to the Christian subjects of the Sultan than if they had been Moslems by origin. But while the blood tax always rankled in the Christian community, the hostility towards the Christians constantly increased among the ordinary Turks. They never forgot that though their Imaams taught "that the people of the books" (Christians and Jews) were to be spared, their lives were forfeit in case of opposition to the Sultan's will.

All down Turkish history to the end of the days of Abdul Hamid runs the story of Greeks, Bulgarians, Armenians being on the point of revolt, and such reports were enough to satisfy the Sultan, or the local governors, that the time had come to declare that they were in rebellion and to commence a massacre which would be profitable to the Moslem population, because it permitted them to rob their Christian neighbors with impunity.

In every page of Lord Eversley's book the reader is made

to understand that the Turkish race has never shed the traditions of its Central Asiatic origin. Turkish government has always shown itself at its worst in dealing with subject races. There have often been amongst the Turks themselves men who have recognized the necessity in the interests of the country, not merely of tolerating, but of doing justice to such races. Lord Eversley alludes to one such notable case. Even Sultan Selim, who, either in his zeal for Islam or in his desire to confiscate Christian property, decided that all the churches and properties attached to them should be confiscated.

From 1683 the Empire was steadily decaying. It is when we come to the nineteenth century that the incidents contributing to this decay are most vividly seen. It is in this period also that the peculiar advantages possessed by Lord Eversley give to his narrative a singular interest and value.

The story of Turkey during the last century is crowded with events picturesque and blood-red. Of all the tales of that grim decade the most pathetic and heart-rending is that of Chios. It is especially interesting to us—because of the best portion of the Greek population of London probably half claim descent from Chios. The heroism of the Greeks in struggling to free themselves from the Turkish yoke, the sympathy felt for them by Christian Europe, the bargain made between the famous Albanian Mehemet Ali who had obtained the Pashalik of Egypt and who had agreed with the Sultan to send his fleet and other aid to Greece in order to suppress the rising by the annihilation of the rebels, and in return was to be given the lordship of Damascus, Asia Minor, and the Morea, the destruction of the combined Turkish and Egyptian fleet by those of England, France, and Russia, the "untoward event" of the Battle of Navarino, and the final triumph of the Greek cause, constitute one of the most romantic pages in European history.

In the 'thirties and 'forties the domestic slave trade was in full vigor, and the sale of naked slaves was one of the sights which curious travellers went to see. The piteous cries of Palace women deprived of their children by their rivals in the harem at this time attracted the attention of Europe, and forced the practice of child murder below the surface.

In the 'fifties came the Crimean War, its results formulated in the Treaty of Paris. In that Treaty there was a serious blunder, which ought to serve as a warning to the members of a Conference which will have to deal with Turkish questions at the end of the present war—a blunder so serious that Lord Stratford de Redcliffe declared that he would rather "have cut off his right hand than have signed that Treaty." The Ambassador had worked hard to obtain a charter which secured to Christians the free exercise of their religion. Proud of this great concession, which Europe spoke of as the "Magna Carta" of the Christians in Turkey, and of having substituted the right of all ambassadors for that which had been exclusively granted at Kainarji to Russia, of making representations on behalf of Christian subjects, his alarm and discontent were natural when he learned that at the Conference of Paris, statesmen, who knew little or nothing about the Eastern Question, had allowed a clause to be inserted which, while confirming the grant of the Charter, stipulated that it should not give any ambassador the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Empire. It was a deadly shot, fired in pure ignorance by well-meaning men who knew or cared little or nothing for one of the greatest objects of Canning's life.

Lord Eversley points out that this clause took a formidable weapon out of the hands of subsequent ambassadors, notably when the massacres of Bulgarians and of Armenians took place, for now the Treaty expressly forbade the right of any ambassador to interfere for the protection of a Christian subject of the Sultan. The work of the greatest ambassador that England ever sent to Turkey was thus undone by permission of his own colleagues.

Macedonia was the latest scene of Abdul Hamid's endeavors to hinder the better government of his subjects. He opposed every reform. It was in vain that Moslems joined with Greeks and Bulgarians to urge reforms upon him; in vain that every Power in Europe formed schemes for the better government of Macedonia. Abdul Hamid, with a trickiness which passed for ability, set Bulgarians and Greeks against each other, and Moslems against both.



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The European Powers drew up programmes which Abdul treated as waste-paper. They forced him to select one of his best officers, Hilmi Pasha, to be sent into Macedonia to effect reforms himself which he had always opposed when proposed by Europe. Abdul Hamid shelved Hilmi's reports and intrigued against his own chosen delegate. At last, in 1908, a body of men, mostly Moslems, known as the Young Turks, made a successful attempt to free the country from the misgovernment of Abdul Hamid. During Abdul's reign France had taken possession of Tunis and Italy of Tripoli. Whatever may be the issue of the present world war, Turkey was reduced in territory during Abdul's reign to a greater extent than at any time since 1453. This diminution of Empire was in spite of the protests and representations of his Moslem subjects.

I cannot agree with the statement of Lord Eversley that the condition of the Christian provinces became worse after the Young Turks came into power. That they behaved foolishly is true, as might have been expected, for the difficulties which these inexperienced men had to encounter were enormous, though they did their best according to their lights to overcome them. They failed. But this is not the place to set out the reasons of their failure. The misgovernment of the Young Turks differed essentially from that of Abdul Hamid. They wanted to reform everything. He refused all reforms. They would Turkify everything, and if the Albanian or Arab resisted, as each did in the endeavor to force them to adopt the Turkish language, they must be coerced. This determination to be thorough, to stand no nonsense, created a host of enemies. The blunders which did them most harm were from excess of zeal. But I know of no reason to believe that Talaat, the actual Grand Vizier, and his colleagues, were ever actuated by wrong motives until they fell under German influence.

Lord Eversley's last visit to Turkey was in 1890. He noted in the "Nineteenth Century", the great advance he had found in Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria since his former visit. The progress indeed was marvellous and the marvel increases when we remember that Bulgaria and, until lately, Greece, chose to join Germany rather than the Powers which aided them in obtaining freedom. In each case, as well as in that of Turkey, the diplomatic influence of Germany suggests that ours in the Balkans was lacking; but this is not the time to tell that story.

The reader will find Lord Eversley's book pleasant and trustworthy reading. Various names, dates, and places would stand correction, as, for example, the use of *Damat*, which is a title bestowed on the subject who marries an Imperial princess, and is not a mere pre-name. I object also to following the French in such words as "*Djem*"; the omission of the *D* leaves the correct pronunciation; but these are small matters. The book altogether is excellent.

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#### AN IDEAL CHURCH HISTORY.

"Church and State in England to the Death of Queen Anne." By H. M. GWATKIN, D.D. (Longmans. 15s. net.)

THE late Professor Gwatkin was a man of exceptional learning, sound judgment, and reasonable temper; to which gifts he added that of an admirable literary style. The combination makes his posthumous "Church and State in England to the Death of Queen Anne" a fascinating book; the reader's one regret will be that he did not live to bring it up to our own time. Had he done so, it might have been, in the full sense of the word, complete. The interior tie between Church and State has been seriously weakened since the death of Archbishop Tait (1882), the last prominent Churchman who valued and understood the nature of their connection; and it is doubtful whether the exterior association can long survive the relaxation of the interior tie.

Professor Gwatkin has wisely avoided the snare of a distinctively "Church" history. What is called Church history is part of general history—nowhere is this so eminently the case as in England; and, as soon as this is lost sight of, misconception begins. It is because, from the

first page to the last, he has kept it in mind that no writer has brought out so clearly the unity of English religion, and the accuracy with which its various phases reflect the national mind. "One of the determining facts of English history," he says, "is that the Romans never quite made the land their own." Here is the *differentia* between English and Continental civilizations. As early as the end of the eighth century we find

"... most of the permanent types of English Churchmen. Theodore is a churchly statesman, like Lanfranc or Langton; and the unchurchly bishop is represented by Wini, who bought his office for a price. The common sense of the English layman, often genuinely devout, but seldom caring much for dogma, comes out in Ethelbert and Oswy, and perhaps in Penda also; his strong individualism is represented by the monasteries, and English intensity and energy are everywhere conspicuous."

It was a good thing that England should enter into the European comity of nations; and at the time she could only do so by accepting the Papal jurisdiction. But the Roman claims, even under an Innocent III., were of another order than those of the Post-Reformation Popes. The Medieval Papacy was part and parcel of the common law of Europe. As an institution, it was political first, and religious (in so far as it was religious at all) afterwards: it was in order to secure its political supremacy that it advanced spiritual arguments and took spiritual ground. This was why the statesmen of the period, while resenting its pressure, found escape impossible; though the more farsighted foresaw the inevitable breakdown of the system. "Only at the point of the sword can the Church be freed from her Egyptian bondage," said Grosseteste. He looked for the catastrophe in a short time—"perhaps three years"; but three centuries passed before it came, in the shape of the Reformation. It was the last term of a long series of protests, sometimes acute, never wholly silenced; it did not come—in the nature of things it could not have come—suddenly and as a bolt from the blue. It was fatal to much besides the Papacy. "England has never been quite of one mind in religion"; and with the removal of the keystone the convention which held the discordant elements together disappeared. For the abuses complained of were "not merely personal sins, but the natural results of false doctrine." Here the Bible, now placed within the reach of all, was decisive: men looked into its pages for the beliefs and practices of medieval Christianity, and they were not there. In a generation which took the Bible in deadly earnest there was no answer to this: the mighty ship of the Church went down in the waste of waters, and its place knew it no more.

A certain confusion followed. The miscarriage of Cranmer's "*Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*" was, Professor Gwatkin thinks, "no great loss." With regard to the re-establishment of the Courts Spiritual this is so; but had its provisions regarding marriage become law, the gain both to morality and to religion would have been great. Nowhere has our national incapacity for dealing with ideas landed us in greater absurdities. In the Medieval Church, as in the Roman Catholic Church of to-day, an impossible law was tempered by dispensations; and

"... ample room was made for them by all sorts of questions about pre-contract, espousals, relations of kindred, affinity, and gossip—by blood, by marriage, and by sponsorship—all of them to the seventh degree. Thus reasons could always be found for annulling any inconvenient marriage; and the Church was generally willing—for a consideration—to annul a marriage for anyone who wanted to marry again."

It was excessively scandalous; but it may be questioned whether the obstinate conservatism of Anglican orthodoxy do not give rise to greater evils. Divorce is an evil; but there are circumstances under which it is the lesser of two evils; and marriage, like the Sabbath, was "made for man."

In religion, as elsewhere, a permanent element of the English outlook is its respect for the law. For Englishmen the law is not an arbitrary enactment, dictated by the interest or caprice of the ruler; but the rational act of the community expressing its best mind and conscience and aiming at the common good. As early as the Great Charter this is evident.

"The King is subject to the law; and still more his subjects are subject to the law, and to nothing else. Canon



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Law was never popular in England, and the attempt of the Stuarts to establish administrative action was a failure. The entire future of Church and State is already shadowed out; for English Erastianism and English Constitutionalism are based alike on the English belief that the law of the land ought to be supreme. Sooner or later, an English nation would reduce to obedience both Church and King if they presumed to go outside the law of the land. Hence the Reformation and the Revolution."

This is the key both to the extent and to the limit of the nation's patience. It is not quick to resist authority; it put up with much from Charles I. and James II.; it was slow to rise against the medieval hierarchy and the Pope. For these authorities had sound titles in law; and, though it might resent this or that action on their part, as long as they kept within the limits of the law the country tolerated them: resistance remained passive; better times would come. But once the law was defied, this temper changed. "The great inert mass of the nation spoke seldom; but when it spoke its voice was decisive." The divine right of Kings was a rhetorical way of saying that the foreign rule of the Popes was intolerable; the Royal Supremacy meant that there was only one supremacy in the last resort in England; and that this was the supremacy of the law.

With the Revolution of 1688, a line of demarcation between the onward-looking and the backward-looking section of the Church, till then latent, came into evidence. The record of Convocation under Anne is, as Professor Gwatkin says, "dreary." "The chief energies of the Lower House were spent in interminable quarrels with the Upper. In theory they held the divine right of bishops; in practice they were as rebellious and as insulting as they could well be." Such was the scandal caused by these disagreements that from 1717-1855 Convocation was not summoned. The experience of the last two generations has shown that they have rather increased than diminished in acrimony; and that it is on their settlement, whether by way of compromise or of legislation, that the future of the Church, whether as an Establishment or as a force in English religion, depends.

#### A GREAT EPIC.

"*Pan Tadeusz; or, The Last Foray in Lithuania.*" By ADAM MICKIEWICZ. Translated by GEORGE RASPALL NOYES. (Dent. 6s. net.)

It is typical of the tidal swing of fashion in literature that while Brückner's "History of Russian Literature" has been long available in an English translation, his authoritative "History of Polish Literature" still remains in the original German. Yet Brückner is a distinguished Pole! How little the English people's genuine sympathy for the Poles has taken the form of interest in their literature may be judged from the fact that the trinity of great Polish poets—Krasinski, Slowacki, and Mickiewicz—are merely names to them. Let us hope that Professor Noyes's prose rendering of "Pan Tadeusz," which hails from America, may become better known than Miss Bigge's translation (1885)—a volume which is not even catalogued in the London Library. Yet Miss M. M. Gardiner's excellent monograph on Mickiewicz (1911) leaves scant excuse for ignorance of a great national poem which is declared by Brandes to be "the only successful epic of the century." There is, indeed, nothing like "Pan Tadeusz" in the whole range of nineteenth-century literature. The great advantage that Mickiewicz possessed over his fellow-romantics, as Byron, is that as a lad he had steeped himself in Lithuanian life with its Old World manners and customs, that he had seen with his eyes of glowing patriotism the national rising of 1812, when the coming of the Grande Armée had promised deliverance to his countrymen. So all that his marvellous memory had garnered of the traditions of his elders, all that he had seen and heard of Polish manorial life, of the great Lithuanian forests and wild marshes, of the villages, with their semi-feudal types, all the lore he had amassed by reading and study, were fused in the ardent fire of his patriotic feeling to produce an illusion magical in its glowing color and movement. By seizing this hour in the national life, when the gallant spirit of Poland broke forth again like a banner given to the wind, Mickiewicz was able to light his canvas

with rays of the sun setting before the gathering storm. The romantic movement was born of the shaking of the European social order by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic legions, but the storm and stress of the period provided, in general, too unstable a foundation for purely national art. Scott had to piece together a mosaic of antiquarian relics in his historical novels, and Pushkin's lyrical genius, following Byron, roved over too many fields for his powers to concentrate in a national epic. Mickiewicz, however, having essayed in "Grazyna" and "Konrad Wallenrod" historical poems of the over-subjective Byronic order, and his mystic, unfinished drama, "The Ancestors," luckily turned in his exile in Paris, as a refugee from his own misery and "the thoughts of the tears and blood in which his nation was drowned," to lose himself in a picture idyllic yet finely veracious. We must emphasize the realistic basis of this exquisite delineation of Lithuanian life, for to Mickiewicz it was granted alone among the romantics to immortalize a society that combined both the wild, rich originality of the feudal system and the high culture that had made Poland the torchbearer among the Slav races. Mickiewicz had no need, like Scott, to think himself back in the days of Montrose; he had only to remember the house of his father when the latter petitioned the authorities "to grant him protection from Jan Soplica, 'a man of criminal sort,' who had slain the uncle of the petitioner, and was now threatening to kill the whole Mickiewicz family and burn their house." For even in Napoleonic days disputes over property and law suits were enforced by the turbulent Polish gentry with posses of retainers and armed adherents, turning out and riding against the opposing faction, just as in the seventeenth-century Highlands or in Elizabethan Ireland. It is on a family dispute of this nature that the plot of "Pan Tadeusz" turns, but Mickiewicz has utilized it, like the stone walls of the old, empty castle of the Horeszkos, on which to hang the rich, intricately broided tapestries of his creative imagination. With admirable art, Mickiewicz fuses past and present in the figure of old Gerwazy, the Warden, the last of the Horeszkos' retainers, who, after the family has been ruined, and his lord has been killed in a raid by his enemy, Jacek Soplica and the Russians, lives on in the abandoned castle, like a faithful hound, baring his teeth and snarling at the Soplica family, who now wish to add the castle to their flourishing domain. In contrast to this fierce old servitor, who recounts all the free feudal magnificence, the feasts and forays of the ancient régime, is the young Count, a distant kinsman of the Horeszkos, who lays claim to the castle, but whose heart is occupied with the pursuits of a young man of fashion. In the figure of this young exquisite, Mickiewicz, with a gentle humor, altogether delightful, has slyly satirized the Byronic pose of his own contemporaries. It is with a delicious, sunny freshness, with a clear, charming insouciance of tone, radiant as a cloudless spring morning, that the series of descriptions of country life in the Soplica manor house is unfolded. Delicious vignettes of hare coursing and the bear hunt, and such like distractions of the gentry, are intermingled with the most sensitive nature descriptions of the wild Lithuanian forest, the winds, the dawn, the night sky, and great tempests; and it is in these and passages such as the famous description of the echoes awakened in the forest by the Seneschal's hunting-horn, that Mickiewicz's creative ecstasy indeed matches the force and fecundity of nature. The dispute as to the rightful ownership of the castle, through old Gerwazy's manœuvring, now turns to grim earnest, and we see the banquet scene changed into a brawl, with the hot-headed Polish gentry rushing one against the other, and then mustering their retainers. It is at this point, with a dexterous sweep of the brush, that Mickiewicz suddenly broadens the field of his drama, by introducing the Russians, and by heralding the coming of Napoleon's legions.

Our gratitude is due to Professor Noyes for his version of a masterpiece, which Miss Gardiner assures us is so delicate in word-shading, so rich in verbal harmonies, that it is practically impossible to render it. On comparing various passages with Miss Gardiner's specimens, one perceives that every line might be remodelled a dozen times without achieving success. The series of Notes Professor Noyes has added, which are culled from Jaroszynski and other sources, make an invaluable commentary for English readers.

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## POINTS OF VIEW.

**"Industrial Reconstruction: A Symposium on the Situation After the War, and How to Meet it."**  
 Edited by HUNTLY CARTER. (Fisher Unwin. 6s. net.)

**"The Failure of the Labor Movement."** By RICHARD HIGGS. (The Dover Printing and Publishing Co. 1s. net.)

A SYMPOSIUM, in the days of the spoken word, meant fellow-drinking and fellow-talking, the fine flow of argument that follows the fine flow of wine, the equal ardor of body and of mind, the fiery fellowship of wisdom's quest. But now, when the written word is our constant servant and our master, what an arid business the conventional symposium of the Press has become! Vanished are question and answer, thrust and counter-thrust; vanished the personality, the drama, the debate: here is no spark of friendship bursting into flame as the wind of truth comes sweeping out from the maze of argument. Here, in modern symposium, save it be a work of imagination such as Mr. Lowes Dickinson can so skilfully create, are just scraps, good scraps and bad, big and small, but always scraps. No unity of personality, but only a thin unity of subject correlates the mass. Points are made on this subject and on that: the next writer, caring for none of these things, bursts out into his own particular theme. Another leads the discourse on wilder and stranger tracks. The scraps multiply, neglected, unanswered, dead. Here is no debate and no life.

Mr. Huntly Carter has shown a grim courage in setting about this compilation. Interested in the Capital-Labor situation after the war, he constructs a questionnaire wherewith to approach the pundits. The answers were published in the "New Age," and now, slightly expanded in some cases, they form a book, or rather a scrap-book. The questions were as follows:—

(1) What, in your opinion, will be the industrial situation after the war as regards (a) Labor, (b) Capital, (c) The Nation as a single commercial entity?

(2) What, in your view, is the best policy to be pursued by (a) Labor, (b) Capital, (c) The State?

Obviously all prophecies on this subject are based on the unknowable—that is to say, on the duration of the war and the state of society to which its prolongation will reduce us. And, even apart from this, such terrific problems are scarcely to be answered in a column even by those most sure of their own minds. Consequently, the various contributors approach their task in a wide diversity of moods. Mr. Shaw, realizing that a new "Wealth of Nations" would scarcely suffice to make reply, mutters (1) Chaos, (2) Socialism, and rather sensibly leaves it at that. Mr. Wells, who is not usually distinguished by his literary continence, restrains his busy pen for once, and contents himself with a jeer at pacifism. Mr. Edward Carpenter refuses to be drawn: Mr. Raymond Radclyffe writes heartily about killing Germans and the return to healthy savagery. "No doubt, peace will come some time. Thank God, I shall not be alive to see it. What a miserable business it will be!" Mr. A. J. Penty calls for a political dictator! And so on.

Doubtless there is much of interest in this as in every scrap-book. But it is surely obvious that if our purpose be to collect the various standpoints on Industrial Reconstruction, the more prudent method is to appoint one representative of the four main policies. Let there be a Knight of the Round Table crying for benevolent capitalism, security for his own five per cent. and security for his own well-fed and well-paid workers. Let there be a root-and-branch opponent of the wage-system, who knows what type of Socialism he craves. Let there be a Bellocian, if not Mr. Belloc. And let there be an opponent not only of the wage-system—i.e., the method of modern production, but also of its substance, a champion of the artist and the individual. And let them each have a hundred pages. Then, as far as a written symposium can have life, the main Reconstruction Ideas might be set forth clearly, fully, and with vigor.

As a result of its diverse and uneven contents, Mr. Carter's symposium will appeal to those who are interested in persons rather than to those who are interested in ideas. Many great names appear and many points are touched upon with many biases: and consequently those who, without wishing to go into the details of the matter, are yet eager to discover quickly and easily the various trends of thought on

these high themes, will find "Industrial Reconstruction" a useful and an entertaining handbook. The Editor has certainly been an energetic master of the ceremonies, and has gone diligently to the highways and hedges to find guests for the banqueting.

Mr. Higgs sets out to teach the labor movement a lesson; but when he opens with the startling admission, "I have written of the labor movement as a whole, and have not drawn any distinction between the Labor Party, the Independent Labor Party, the Socialist Party, the numerous Trade Unions, the Co-operative Societies, the Socialist Societies, or the Brotherhoods, Fellowships, and such bodies," the reader may be justified in wondering whether he is the right school-master for the task. It would be hard to find much in common between a Catholic, militant, anti-Socialist, co-operator, and an atheist, pacifist, social democrat. And when at the close he states: "The labor movement has made a great failure in many directions, but in one it has proved a striking success. The success of the labor movement is in its idealism," the reader may also wonder whether Mr. Higgs has paid much attention to the speeches and the ideas of the Labor M.P.s, at whom presumably this warning is directed.

The author's quest is the abolition of poverty by the undertaking of public agricultural enterprise, which will also solve the food-problem, and the abolition of despotism by public audit of public finance. Insufficient as these measures may seem to extract the real benefits of Socialism, Mr. Higgs has grasped very clearly one point which the great names of Mr. Carter's symposium rarely touch upon. He sees that the problem of the future is not to create democratic machinery, but to work it: not to make the world safe for democracy, but to make democracy safe for the world: not to elect more officials, but to keep the elect in their proper place. The Socialists are always crying for the transfer of more activity to public bodies; but do they ever inspect, criticize, and reform these bodies? Their task, cries Mr. Higgs in righteous indignation, is to audit every public account, and instead of crying for greater expenditure to check the present waste. Bureaucracy is the greatest menace of the day; and the Labor Party can only ask for more. In other words, Mr. Higgs is a good democrat who trembles at the "never-ending audacity of elected persons." He realizes that while any fool can fashion Utopias, it takes a wise man to work them; and so before the Labor men aspire to take on the administration of the Empire, they had better begin by practising on the parish. In fact, what the movement really needs is more chartered accountants! There is much fervid wisdom in Mr. Higgs's tract; and some of Mr. Carter's revolutionary symposiasts who cry upon the trade unions to take over the entire control of industry would do well to consider his point of view.

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